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864 835 the girls go into the woods to round up the burros or for other chores. We know that if the mother learns of these happenings she immediately hands out punishment; we also know that it is considered very bad because of its prematurity, because of the act in itself, and because of reasons of blood relationship; but we do not know in what way punishment is meted out or the reaction and the social and family attitude when it becomes known. The fact is that the mother with girls of that age prevents their meeting their brothers outside her personal vigilance. The disregard of that prohibition even if it is not presumed that such a delinguent act 864 has taken place leads to punishment, because the mother knows 581 that these prepubertal relations will later have a decisive influence on the girl when she seeks marriage, as the future husband expects her to come virgin to him and the payment he makes for her includes such a concept. If she is not he has the right to claim a compensation payment and to obtain the legal refund of part of the animals he has paid; or they are obliged to admit it before the marriage, with the prospect that they will be denounced or the hoped-for /marriage/ purchase will not go through. In any case, with foreknowledge or without, the loss of her virginity reduces the value of a marriageable woman in the eyes of the men seeking her as wife.

861 There are punishments of various kinds. Some are corporal and consist of striking the child, and these are the most frequent. They slap them on the mouth when they are insolent when given an order or when they give a sharp answer to the father or mother. They are punched and kicked or are whipped with lassos or riding whips, with twigs from the woods or cudgels, but the mother generally beats them with a bunch of nettles when they commit any kind of naughtiness, such as throwing themselves on the floor and rolling around from temper, sneaking out of the house without permission, disobeying an order, etc. /33/ In order to punish them the mother tries to take them by surprise and catch them firmly by the arm or hand so that she may punish them before they can escape her. She beats their legs or shoulders with the nettles as these parts are usually bare. This punishment is very painful

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583 The married man is the head of a new cell, and this im-
885 plies family and social obligations. These he must face up to as a head of a family under peril of loss of prestige and lowering of position. With the coming of children his position becomes more and more extended, as his duties and rights are becoming joined and broadened, for to the obligations of a husband are added those of a father. And these are further complicated on contracting marriages with new women, as then he has reached, according to the Guajiro way of thinking, the maximum development of his male personality.

● 581 Valuation of virginity and of the woman. The value of
562 the Guajiro woman is fixed by the marriage payment, that is to say, it is the economic assessment of her worth. The conditions of this valuation, traditional among the upper classes (as the lower classes have lost them through socio-economic conditions which even influence those of some standing), may be summarized thus:

581 The physical qualities which make a Guajiro woman
832 desirable are those that comply with the traditional aesthetic norm and are those that the woman after her seclusion (Cf. Initiation of Young Women) makes every endeavor to acquire at any cost: tall stature, balanced by well distributed flesh which gives her an appearance of robustness and full-bodiedness, so that when walking decked out in her ample clothes, she has an appearance both elegant and majestic; wide and robust hips (probably with an unconscious biological end in mind, or a sexual one, or a combination of both); small and upright breasts, as the opposite is considered almost repulsive; and, above all, firm flesh. This last is probably the most desired quality, as the man openly confesses that when his woman over the years loses it, he replaces her by another one who has it. The shape of the legs has no importance, probably because with the full, long dress they are out of sight. In the main, they are thin in relation to the body and frequently bowlegged /?cascorvas/.

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581 832 A woman tries to maintain these qualities as she well knows that they form the center of attraction to a man and that maternity steadily destroys them. This may be one of the reasons for the increasing use of birth control, for which they take herbs that do not allow them to conceive, abortives of all kinds, and they take advantage of their knowledge of their periods of sterility and avoid sexual intercourse at other than these periods. 298 842 847

Their facial features are of no great importance to them so long as they conform to the anthropological norms of the group. They prefer a face with large, dark eyes and beautiful, healthy teeth. Also, they are especially attracted by the whiteness of the skin as it indicates social standing because it is a sign that the woman is better able to look after herself by protecting herself from the sun of the region. During her /62/ seclusion the girl does not expose herself to the sunlight, and her greatest pride is that her skin has become whiter. Every morning she bathes with water left out previously in the evening dew, which besides having magic effects has the property of whitening the skin, and when she goes visiting she always covers her face with facial paints -- a customary practice required by etiquette, which also protects her from the sun's rays. During her seclusion the girl also complies with other beautifying and magic practices, such as denying herself certain meat like deer meat or animal udder, since this last, for example, will wrinkle her rapidly and she will lose some of her physical attractiveness.

A woman is well aware that her future married life will be affected in great measure by her preserving an agreeable appearance and that if the man does not feel satisfied she will be relegated to second place, and he will acquire another woman. For this reason she continually struggles to benefit by all known means to recapture her husband and retain him and avoid his acquiring other women. This is the reason that the mother, when her daughter is in the hammock ready to be hoisted up during her initiation, places on her a love charm which has the property of attracting men and of which we spoke in a previous chapter.

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581 The Guajiro woman also knows that men admire dress and so endeavors to adapt hers to their taste: robes of light, attractive colors, amply cut, considerably ornamented (acculturation), and for feast days or visiting all the collection of jewelry: bracelets, anklets, necklaces of several strings or thick chains with a pendant, numerous rings with big stones, especially tumas, jewelry she was given on finishing her seclusion by her maternal relative of the most distinction and prestige. From then onward she begins to wear them, in smaller quantities when she is at home, but the whole set when attending a feast or visiting. In Jarara a distinctive mark of high social standing is the use of earrings /orejeras may mean earplugs. -- Translator/, because in this region the women, who are not very careful in their dress, use this ornament which is an indication of their social and economic position.

581 The combination, then, of dress and physical appearance are two essential conditions of the attractiveness of the Guajiro woman, which determine her success in order to be bought at a good price or that her husband may not lose interest because of other marriages. The preservation of her physical attractions is a struggle which she maintains for these two reasons; also, dressing well, apart from making her attractive, is a sign of the class to which she belongs and which she must preserve at any sacrifice, as therein lies the prestige of her kin and the maintenance of their status. /63/

In addition to the sexual incentive expressed in previous paragraphs, the Guajiro seeks in his marriage an economic value, that is to say, a woman who possesses certain qualifications that will assure him a certain latitude. The payment he makes for a wife permits him to demand of her his keep and that of his children, for which reason he seeks one capable of complying with this custom by her own efforts.

The work that the woman can carry out to fulfill this economic responsibility is of a domestic nature: the making of hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/, bags, belts, pottery,

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581 harness for animals, and, when living among civilizado /nonnative/ groups, domestic service in the homes of whites and mestizos, the carrying of water and part of the agricultural work in areas, such as Nazaret, where cultivation is possible on the banks of streams, as well as in regions where only temporary cultivation is carried on. In places like Carrizal and Bahía Honda they collect divi-divi, and in the saltworks they do secondary work for pay or simply to assist their husbands.

581 593 [684] This aspect of Guajiro marriage is so important that when a man has abducted a woman and he is considering whether he will buy her or only make a payment for the abuse he has committed, he obtains plant filaments or cotton and sets her to work to make a hammock or a belt. If the woman is not capable he will reject her, as he will reckon that he should not pay for her a price as high as is being demanded. The fact that the woman is an independent economic unit with her children allows her husband to dedicate himself entirely to his pastoral work, to go to the men's gatherings and to the various fiestas, to participate in communal work when asked, to go off on hunting trips for weeks at a time, without having to worry about his home, to join up with his group to fight when necessary, to go traveling from place to place where his other women are, where he gets other economic assistance; in fact to lead a life without worry, although at the present time, owing to conditions of diverse nature, he is finding it necessary to change this pattern of living and to take a more active part in economic life, through the necessity to migrate or to work in the urban centers. This does not mean that he is forced to give more direct assistance to the home: He still follows the traditional way in which his help is only sporadic and absolutely voluntary, leaving to the wife's care the support of the home and of herself; only at the present time when he receives a day's wage for his work, he will drink more and spend more time in idleness while he is spending his earnings.

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581 The Indian also values the relatives of his future wife, be-
593 cause if she has rich relatives and he pays well for her, these will feel themselves obliged to supply her and her children with means of subsistence to live, freeing him from a responsibility which would otherwise restrict his freedom. /64/

To marry into an economically strong group has the advantage that this will bring to the marriage a dowry fitting his esteem, which the future husband will administer, as well as a series of gifts which the women's relatives will make to his children, and, what will increase his prestige, the number of ornaments, dresses, etc., which she will bring with her and in which she will appear in due time. Furthermore, although his marrying one of these women implies a heavy disbursement at the moment, in the long run he will receive suitable reimbursement with the payment for his first daughter to be bought, which belongs in full to the father.

584 Neither does the man disregard the social value of the
583 woman, above all in his first marriage, which is the one that represents it. By this purchase he and his relatives, as well as those of the girl, try to arrange an alliance which will reinforce two strong families or tighten the bonds between them. This induces them in many cases not to consider the choice of the bride (not so much at present), the elders freely making arrangements, in order to obtain the advantage of a high price, the linking with a group whom they fear, avoiding thus prejudice and strengthening friendship, but at the same time hazarding the possibility of the woman's committing suicide. This same fact is what permits the abduction of a woman, which is not considered such in the wide sense of the word but rather an acquiescence on the part of the woman's relatives, who look complacently on these relations, having confidence in the compliance with the payment on the part of the man. It is a deed which demonstrates good faith on the part of relatives on the woman's side to which the man must respond by arranging an immediate and satisfactory payment, if he does not want to

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584 have a serious stain placed on his prestige as a man in good
583 financial standing and one who complies with Guajiro law. So they test, unconsciously perhaps, the feelings of the two groups who are seeking the alliance: trust on one side and solvency and good faith of the other. It is a test of friendship in which each side puts in evidence the wish of surpassing the other.

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[191] Also figured in the social valuation of a woman is her knowledge of the language as this means in Guajiro that she has palabra /literally, "word"/ (Cf. Caciques), that is to say, that she has a wide knowledge of the language and can use it adequately in delicate situations in which it is necessary to bring to bear every oratorical gift and know how to measure her words and the customary phrases in order to attain her end or to guide the discussion to a level where the facts will follow the legal line. A woman, when she has these qualities, may act as a mediator in a quarrel, and on the result favorable to the person she has represented will depend her personal aggrandizement, by which she acquires prestige and is called in to mediate in even more complicated matters, /65/ by this means increasing her personal position and that of her group and converting other clans into satellites, submissive to her will, in payment for benefits received, thus still further increasing her power which indirectly extends to her husband. This acquisition is a cause for vanity and pride in the husband.

From this talent of tener palabra /literally, "to have word"/ there emerges a series of sequences which build up the social aspect of a home. A woman who possesses that quality knows the Guajiro social protocol and can fully comply with it, thus avoiding conflicts with other groups; she also knows the legal system of the peninsula and by such knowledge can protect the interests of her family group, including her husband, as she will confine his conduct to that which is established, which eases the husband's life and his relationships with his feminine relatives. She makes possible the knitting together of these two disparate elements and creates the bond of union between the

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555 two; she increases the man's prestige because in carrying out her
581 duties as mistress of his house and representative of the home,
593 she knows by suitable attentions (agreeable talk, preparation of food according to traditional custom, hospitality appropriate to the social standing of a guest, etc.) how to win everybody's appreciation, consideration, and respect.

Furthermore, as the maintenance of prestige rests partly on the wife, the knowledge of the psychic and legal life and customs of the society in which she lives enables her to act correctly and without errors. She will maintain due solemnity in carrying out the most important acts in life, as, for example: the seclusion of young women, marriage, illness, etc., so strengthening her status. She will also rule her family more correctly and constitute herself the guardian of tradition, which is so respected by the Guajiro and in which resides the strength of their culture.

* * *

583 The price that the Guajiro man pays for his wife includes several conditions among which is the assumed virginity as he
836 will expect his wife to come to the marriage as such each time that marriage penetrates into his psychic life, and he will feel defrauded if she does not, so much more if the status of the bride is high and even more if she is his first wife.

The man takes into account various aspects of virginity:
[554] First, he finds a special attractiveness in the virgin woman for the satisfaction of deflowering her, which, apart from the sexual attractiveness, gives him in the future a reason for boasting and prestige, the halo of a fortunate man which /66/ fills him with pride and gives him a feeling of superiority. Second, and from the economic point of view, because he has paid the price asked, convinced that his wife is a property which belongs to him, wholly and exclusively. Third, because he thinks that if a woman has given herself to another man, secretly, it was because she was drawn to him by a great affection or because she is a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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622 would not have been pleased if we had not managed to get
142 her looking nice and pale. In reality her complexion was perhaps a shade too dark. Mauana asked if everyone in our country was as fair-skinned as my wife, and when I assured him that they were, he wondered whether he should not send his daughter to Sweden for a time to let her become lighter. The girl did not appear to be so very young. Francisco told us that Mauana was not finding it easy to marry her off. Being the greatest and richest chief in the Macuira Hills, with plantations that were always watered, the price he must ask for her was considerable by Indian standards, and though there had been no lack of inquiries, no deal had yet been made. All this according to Francisco. The price could not be lowered. The girl's uncle insisted on that, as she did too. Every Indian girl is proud of commanding a high price. That not only shows that she is of good family, but also that her mother and grandmother cost a lot too, in other words that she is of an old, propertied family.

581 'You often hear people say,' Francisco added, 'that it is better to pay little for a wife from a poor family who has been taught to work well, than to give much for a rich girl who only wants to be waited upon. But the fact is that the rich girl's family will provide her with what she might need to live according to her status even after she has married. She will still be supported from home. That, of course, lightens the husband's duties: so it isn't so silly to marry a rich wife,' and he sighed heavily.

584 Mauana then joined us and he too began discussing marriage. We had heard a certain amount on this subject already, but listened nonetheless attentively. A suitor does not go in person to ask for a girl's hand; he sends a proxy, his eldest maternal uncle or, if possible, a chief on his mother's side. His mother usually goes as well, Sometimes a whole deputation arrives, to be given a ceremonial reception.

[431] The delegates bring with them gifts in the form of necklaces of gold beads and tuma stones. A man like Mauana could expect several of these. If the gifts are accepted, as almost always they are, they at once start discussing the